

REPORT

ITO L. SCHMIDT,
CHICAGO.

OF THE

COMMITTEE

ON

FEDERAL RELATIONS.


PRESENTED TO THE SENATE MARCH 5, 1863, BY MR. COBB, CHAIR
MAN OF THE COMMITTEE; ADOPTED BY THE SENATE MARCH 7,
AND 5,000 COPIES ORDERED TO BE PRINTED.

INDIANAPOLIS:

JOSEPH J. BINGHAM, STATE PRINTER.

1863.

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REPORT.

MR. PRESIDENT:—

The Committee on Federal Relations, of the Senate, to whom was referred the proceedings of the officers of the Twentieth Regiment Indiana Volunteers, held at Camp Pitcher, Virginia, on the 19th of February, 1863; the memorial of the Nineteenth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, as well as the memorial and proceedings of the Sixth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-Second, Twenty-Ninth, Thirty-Fourth, Thirty-Second, Thirty-Seventh, Thirty-Ninth, Fortieth, Forty-Second, Forty-Fourth, Fifty-First, Fifty-Seventh, Fifty-Eighth, Seventy-Second, Seventy-Third, Seventy-Fifth, Seventy-Ninth, Eighty-Second, Eighty-Sixth, and One Hundred and First Regiments of Indiana Volunteers, have had the same under consideration, and having bestowed on these proceedings the respectful and earnest consideration to which they are entitled, have instructed me to report the following general reply to the suggestions of the gallant volunteers now in the field:

To the Regiments now in the field from Indiana, and to the Officers and Men who compose them :

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

We have received from twenty-five Indiana Regiments, and from the Fifth, Seventh, Eighth and Tenth Batteries of Artillery, words of counsel and advice in the present imperiled condition of our beloved country. These words were borne to us in the language of true patriotism, and are accepted by the Senate of Indiana with the respect which is due to gallant men engaged in the service of their once peaceful, but now distracted country. From no portion of our fellow-citizens could these suggestions be more acceptable. But two short years ago you were in the midst of our people, sharing, in the various walks of life, the cares and responsibilities of civil occupations, and enjoying those endearments which make up the sum of human happiness—for man, after all his toils, has nothing left to him but “wife, children, and friends,”

the enjoyment of home, and the love of a Constitution and Government which is to descend to his posterity, it is to be hoped, for ever. It is for these that men labor. Beyond these objects, in *this* world, there is nothing that challenges the constant and persistent effort of our race. For these we all contend in life's short career. You are now in the tented field, and we in the legislative halls of our beloved State, each endeavoring to put down a rebellion and preserve a Constitution—the one hated, the other adored. That each effort may be successful, is the prayer of the Indiana Senate.

We fear, gentlemen, that you have heard much that was untrue in regard to the *intentions* of the General Assembly which convened at the Capitol on the 8th day of January last. You have heard a great deal that was untrue before that time. For more than a year past there has been a constant effort to mislead your minds in regard to the feelings of a majority of the people of Indiana, and we doubt not that it will be continued. *There is an object to be gained.* On every account we should regret its success, because that would do more to insure "divided counsels," which you so properly deprecate, than any one thing else. There should be strict justice meted out to all our people, for each and every man in Indiana has the same interest in restoring the authority of the Government, and bringing all the States back into one harmonious Union. The humblest citizen and the proudest in the land should have a common object in view in keeping the States together, *and he is no friend of the nation* who would divide us up into factions at a time like this, by false representations of the aims and intentions of the great mass of the people of Indiana. The majority of this General Assembly have suffered much from the ungenerous accusations of partisans in and out of office; they have forborne to repel these charges as they deserved, for the sake of quiet and peace at home, determined to rely upon their *actions* as the best and most worthy defense of themselves in your eyes, and the eyes of the great and patriotic people of your State. We have remained comparatively silent; and while the influences which surrounded the Executive chamber of this Capital were used to prejudice the majority, and to make you believe that *you had enemies at home*, we, and those for whom we act, had sealed their lips, looking forward to the day when truth and not falsehood would break in upon the land. The very money which the majority of the people had paid for your comfort and benefit, in the hospital and in the sick room, were turned into means of detraction by the agents *paid out of that most sacred fund.* These agents had access to you, and that privilege was abused to poison the minds of the sons and brothers of those who had willingly taxed themselves for the comfort of the soldier. You have, no doubt, seen these men in your camps, and you have listened to the recitals of those pensioned patriots—pensioned out of the money which ought to have been appropriated for your exclusive benefit. All this has been borne in silence. We now thank you for the oppor-

tunity which has been thus afforded to set the true state of the facts before our gallant army. We ask only to be heard for the sake of truth.

We are accused of encouraging a partisanship in regard to this war, of which we are entirely guiltless. There has been no act or resolution passed, *and none indorsed by either branch of the General Assembly*, which gives warrant or color to such a charge. There are measures of policy adopted by Congress and the President to which we have or will enter our solemn protest, as the people of Indiana have done at the election in October. Men who make up and sustain the Government, as you, the people, and ourselves do, have a right to condemn such measures, if, in the exercise of a sound judgment, we regard them as intended *to divide the people in the vigorous prosecution of the war*. It is for the President to adopt a war policy *for the army in the field*, and it is the right of the people's Representatives in Congress, and in the local Legislatures, to adopt such wise and prudent enactments in regard to the *civil* administration of public affairs as will most surely bring all the States back into the Union, after the war is closed. This power and duty we claim for Congress and the local Legislatures, and, without the rightful and free exercise of this power, neither the soldiers in the field, nor citizens at home, would have institutions worth fighting or contending for. If the President can do as he pleases, and there shall be no limit to his power, then popular elections are a farce, and State Governments a nullity. We know you too well to believe that you would ever consent to the establishment of a doctrine so slavish. The gallant soldiers would be the first victims of such a despotism. The people and the State Governments are your own strong and sure defense against oppression now, and neglect hereafter. Give neither up at the bidding of those who would degrade you and your fathers, brothers, neighbors, and fellow-citizens to the condition of serfs and the bondage of slaves. Neither the soldiers or the people are prepared for such political humiliation.

Let us look to the history of our action, here and elsewhere, and the causes which have led to the ascendancy of the majority in this chamber. It was manifest before the adjournment of Congress, at the first regular session, that the whole policy of the Administration, in conducting the war, had been changed, and that new and startling measures were inaugurated at Washington. This created wide-spread alarm among the people in all the free States, and aroused a sentiment which demanded a convocation of a Mass Convention of conservative and loyal citizens at Indianapolis: That Convention was held on the 30th day of July, 1862. It was called to give utterance to its sentiments in regard to the measures to which we have alluded. We can not better define the position of the majority of the Senate and the other House, and of the people of Indiana, than by giving the resolutions adopted by the vast concourse of your fellow-citizens which assembled on that occasion. They are as follows:

Resolutions adopted at the Mass Meeting of the Democrats and other Conservative Citizens of Indiana, July 30, 1862.

Resolved, That the Constitution, the American Union, and the laws made under and by the authority of the Constitution, must be preserved and maintained in their proper and rightful supremacy; that the rebellion now in arms against them must be suppressed and put down, and that it is the duty of all good citizens to aid the General Government in all measures necessary and proper to that end.

Resolved, That the Democracy of Indiana, with patriots every where, have made and will continue to make, every sacrifice to the end that the rebellion may be suppressed, the supremacy of the Constitution maintained, and the Union under it preserved; but they are unalterably opposed to a war of conquest or subjugation, and they will never consent that the war, on their part, shall be waged for the purpose of interfering with the rights, or overthrowing the established institutions of any of the States. In the language of Senator Douglas, uttered at Chicago, a few days before his death: "We must not invade constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose."

Resolved, That we protest, in the name of ourselves and of our children, and in the name of all that we hold dear in the future of our beloved country, against the mischievous measure of negro emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the payment for such negroes out of the National Treasury; and we further protest against the resolution of Congress, pledging the nation to pay for all negroes which may be emancipated by the authority of any of the Southern States; that we regard such measures, involving as they do an expenditure of two thousand five hundred millions of dollars, as measures of transcendent enormity, and fruitful only of national beggary to the land we love; that we are unalterably and unconditionally opposed to all schemes having for their object, immediate or remote, the taxation of the white man for the purchase of negroes any where; that we deny the constitutional right of the President or Congress to adopt a policy which taxes white labor to pay for negroes, or which would make the Government or people slave dealers; a policy which, if not arrested by the votes of the people, will entail upon unborn generations of our kindred a debt more overwhelming and appalling than ever cursed any nation of ancient or modern times.

Resolved, That in opposition to measures of this kind we desire to interpose the peaceful and powerful agents, *the ballot of a free people*, and say in the language of another, "We will neither surrender our rights nor forsake them. We will maintain our constitutional liberty at all hazards, and as a necessary step toward that end, we will maintain the Union in like manner. We are for the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was."

Resolved, That, in the language of the resolution of the conservative members of Congress, the doctrine of the Secessionists and of the Abolitionists, as the latter are now represented in Congress, are alike inconsistent with the Constitution and irreconcilable with the unity and peace of the country. The first have already involved us in a civil war, and the others—the Abolitionists—will leave the country but little hope of the speedy restoration of Union or peace.

Resolved, That the happy accord of the Border State Union men of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Western Virginia with the Democratic delegations in Congress, in their joint efforts to arrest the tide of fanaticism in both houses, has filled all national hearts in this State with sentiments of deep affection for our brethren of those gallant Commonwealths, and we hereby pledge to them and the country our best efforts to secure to the councils of the nation statesmen who will labor to restore the Union of the States on the basis and in the spirit of our matchless and revered Constitution.

Resolved, That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

Resolved, That we approve of and indorse the resolutions drawn by Hon. John J. Crittenden, and adopted by the conservative members of Congress on the 22d day of January, 1861, as a clear and just declaration of the objects which ought to be had in view by the American people in the present fearful emergency of their national affairs.

Resolved, That we recur with patriotic pride to the bravery and valor of the officers and soldiers of all the Indiana regiments, exhibited in the struggles upon the many bloody fields in which they have been engaged, and that this Convention, in behalf of the Democracy of this State, tender to them a united testimony to their valor and devotion to the Constitution and the Union, and offer to the friends and families of those who have fallen in the service of their country its sincere sympathy and condolence, and that we will ever cherish in grateful recollection the willing sacrifice made by the noble sons of Indiana, in exchanging the peaceful avocations of life for the hardships and perils of war.

The Convention which passed these resolutions was attended by *forty thousand* citizens of Indiana, who had come up from every neighborhood and county in the State. Since the days when the white man first set his foot upon the soil of Indiana, there never was such an assemblage of the white race within the confines of this city. We may declare, too, that it was composed of as many unselfish men as ever attended a convention. That there were

politicians among them it would be uncandid to deny, but what gathering of the people has ever taken place where that could not be said. It was, indeed, a mighty host of freemen, who met to counsel together. Many of them were the fathers, the brothers or the relations of the men composing the grand army of the nation—
ALL OF THEM YOUR FRIENDS.

And what can be said against the above resolutions? What against the principles laid down for the government of a great nation? Is there any disloyalty to the Government in their tone or spirit? They are plain and to the point; they have the merit of candor. It is no sectional party platform, *but embraces our whole country*. We there pledged Indiana to the prosecution of this war for the high and holy purpose of restoring the Union, putting down *the rebellion now in arms against it*, and that *it is the duty of all good citizens to aid the General Government in all measures necessary and proper to the end*. We stand by that pledge to day.

The majority of this Senate and the other House, all the State officers, seven members of the lower branch of Congress, and a United States Senator, have all been elected on the grounds assumed by that Convention. It condemned certain measures of Congress and the President, and took issue with the Republican Convention which did not indorse and would not condemn them. One of these measures of Congress was particularly obnoxious. It pledged the nation and people to pay for negroes which might be emancipated by the "authority of the State." It was a pledge which Congress had no right to make, and one that the freemen of this country will decree shall not be carried out. It was made without notice to the people, without even an allusion to it as a probable measure of policy, and, in defiance, we are bound to say, of every constitutional power. How the purchase of three or four millions of negroes by the white laborers of the North could "put down the rebellion" or restore the Union, no department of the Government, and no member of Congress has ever had the candor to explain. A pledge for such a purpose, by whomsoever made, and all similar schemes for mixing up negro emancipation with this war for the Union, received the open condemnation of that Convention. It was but a reflex of the people's voice in July—it was the voice of Indiana in October. That condemnation we now echo from this chamber, and there are none who will defend that pledge, or make an issue on it before the people.

If the Administration and its advisers desired to keep the people "united" for the prosecution of this war, why were those measures of negro emancipation and purchase *forced* upon the nation at a time like this? If they did not know that it would divide the citizens, and make men *doubt* in regard to the *objects* of this war, then we can only say that they have too little sagacity to control the affairs of a great nation. But when the proclamation of the 22d of September, 1862, fell upon the people, "like a fire-bell in the night," the wildest confusion was added to the

doubts which took possession of the public mind. There stood revealed before the world two measures which invoked the condemnation of the people of Indiana, *and they received it*. No one dared to defend them. They got no defense. The candidates sustained by the minority stood mute at the giant measure of oppression they were expected to defend—taxation for the purpose of freeing African slaves, and a horde of free negroes thrown upon the soil of the free West. We, and those with whom we acted, opposed measures of transcendent enormity like these, and those who *apologized* for them—they had no *defenders*—went under the wave of popular indignation in Indiana. Was this opposing the war? In defending you and ourselves from oppression and bankruptcy, and keeping the Government within the scope of its constitutional power, we were only discharging a duty to our great and unfortunate nation. For doing this, we have been denounced to you as traitors, and by men, too, who have followed your camps, not to share your hardships and dangers, but to gather up the crumbs which have fallen from the table provided by the generosity and sense of justice of the people of your beloved State. *We know* these men, and whether of high or low degree, have a right to hold them up to the scorn and contempt of all just men in the army and out of it.

You ask us to "give this war a cheerful and hearty support—that we will pour out the treasure of the State as our soldiers have poured out their blood, to aid the holy cause of restoring the Union of our fathers"—that we should abstain from heated political discussions and party wranglings, until the authority of Government is once more established; that we should resist "the infernal spirit which would waste victory in humiliating compromise; and that we should sacrifice every thing, except liberty and political equality, to National integrity." These requests are reasonable, and they come to us in pleasant words. The Senate of Indiana, the House of Representatives, and the people represented by both branches, have given, and will continue to give, a cheerful and hearty support to this war, FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE UNION, and the majority which we represent are prepared to contribute *even more* of the treasure of the State than on any former occasion, in aid of the volunteers now in the field from Indiana. These two points in your request are, so far as the majority has power, already complied with. How far it will be in the power of that majority to avoid "heated political discussion and party wrangling," will depend greatly upon the conduct of the minority, and their consent to accept *deeds* and not *words* as the measure of true men's loyalty. The legislation of the session has been generally harmonious; but there are questions which now and then arise to impede the progress of business. There are no disagreements about furnishing the army with all that is deemed essential for its comfort, and large appropriation have already passed the Senate, and by a unanimous vote. These disagreements an

"wranglings" *are over measures which relate to people at home, and not to the army from our State.* The majority, while they look to your interests, as soldiers, have also an eye to your home interests and the welfare of fathers, brothers and neighbors. While you fight rebellion and treason in the army, the General Assembly wish to preserve your Government at home from being turned into an engine of tyranny, usurpation, and merciless taxation. They don't want you taxed to pay for negroes—nor to have the negroes come into Indiana, to become hired laborers on the farms of the State. They don't wish to have the people arrested without warrant of law, and imprisoned in dungeons without trial. They don't want the money appropriated for your benefit squandered on pimps and favorites: and, above all, they don't want to see the free Constitution of Indiana trampled under foot for the gratification of those who aim to override the co-ordinate departments of the State, and engulph ALL the powers of the Government in their own hands. That point of our resistance is what gives offense, and the political colporteurs sent among you to slander and vilify the majority of this Senate and the other branch of the Legislature, are performing only a duty imposed by the nature of their unhappy calling.

The Senate is quite willing to indorse the sentiments of your memorial, which counsels that we should resist the "infernal spirit which would waste victory in humiliating compromises." That is sound advice, and this Senate will lay the same to heart as a lesson of wisdom. The majority of this General Assembly assure their gallant friends in the army, that there are no such members in either branch of the Legislative departments. No one here thinks of *humiliating* compromises, or indeed, compromises of any kind, for they have no power to enforce them, and are too proud to beg them from the administration of Mr. Lincoln, even if their supplications could avail at such a tribunal. They know too well what influences prevail at Washington to approach the ear of our Commander-in-Chief. Not so, good friends. No humiliating compromises are asked for by this General Assembly, and if there be a party which has "wasted victories," or failed to improve them, when won, it must have been those in possession of the General Government and not the Indiana Legislature. We have had no power to "waste" any victory, or to turn success into ashes in the hands of the nation. The assertion that we do desire such compromises is without foundation. The Senate and General Assembly of Indiana are entirely willing that the President and his Administration should make this war a part of its history, and that its "compromises" shall begin at such time as may to them seem befitting. We had no agency in inaugurating this war, nor in carrying it on; none in directing its policy; none in the control of its armies, and it is not our design to interfere with it in any improper manner. Our duty is to pay taxes—to take care of the sick and wounded soldiers—to look and wait for the end of this

cruel and bitter strife—to take care of our State affairs, and to hope that our beloved country will one day emerge from the clouds which hang over her, with the Union restored as it was, and with all the States existing in harmony under the matchless Constitution of our fathers.

It would be wrong to conceal the fact that there is a growing anxiety in the public mind that this war should be brought to a close in some mode *not* humiliating to the nation. It has lasted nearly two years, and with great waste of blood and treasure. Thousands have fallen in the conflict, and the richest veins have been opened to pour upon the earth the purple current of our brave soldiers. Indiana has contributed copious streams to the flood of human gore which has reddened the soil of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas. Our braves have gone down on nearly every battle field, and the hosts from our State have been thinned in every new encounter. They have fallen on the right hand and on the left. Disease has also done its work, and every train which passes over our thoroughfares brings the remains of some gallant spirit who died away from kindred and friends. And is it strange that this desire for peace should possess the public mind? Men are not made of iron, nor their hearts of steel. The human sympathies are not closed in the family circle, nor are human woes hushed by the clangor of arms. There *are* hearts that will *feel*, and minds that will *think* even in perilous times like these. The kind father and the doting mother will remember their first born, and wish he was at the old cottage, where from infancy his loved form was a solace to the declining years of his aged parents. The brother will look anxiously for the return of that brother, friend, the playmate of his earliest days; and has the poor and forsaken wife no choice about the time *when* this war shall close? Has she no wish to see *him* to whom, in the gushing hours of her spring time, she abandoned all for *his* sake? Let us not be deceived. There are anxieties on this subject. The public mind is feverish and will speak out. Neither Presidents, Congressmen nor Governors, even with the aid of the grand army of contractors, can stifle this feeling of deep anxiety for an honorable peace. This nation is too young to cherish a sentiment for permanent war. Her institutions—founded on perfect freedom of sentiment, and the absence of military restraints—will not endure a long and wasting contest for the gratification of any thing short of national existence. He is not a wise man who looks upon it in any other light. He is less than wise who could desire it.

The present General Assembly, by members of the reviled majority, have recommended the passage of the following measures for the benefit of the soldiers of Indiana now in the field.

1. A bill appropriating two millions of dollars, to provide for the prompt payment of the officers and soldiers in the army of the United States, raised and organized in the State of Indiana, and to provide means for that purpose. This measure was recom-

mended by Governor Morton, and promptly seconded by the majority members of the House and Senate. This bill has passed the Senate by yeas 43, nays *none*. The yeas are as follows: Messrs. Bearss, Berry, Blair, Bradley, Campbell, Claypool, Cobb, Corbin, Davis of Vermillion, Davis of Cass, Dickinson, Douglass, Downey, Ferguson, Finch, Fleming, Fuller, Gaff, Gifford, Graves, Hartley, Hoagland, Hord, Jenkins, Landers, McClurg, Mansfield, March, Marshall, Mellett, Moore, Murray, New, Pleak, Ray, Shields, Teegarden, White, Williams. Wilson, Wolfe, Wright, and Mr. President—43. Democrats 25, Republicans 18.

2. A joint resolution of thanks to the soldiers of Indiana, and providing for the registry and preservation of the names of those who have fallen in the service of their country during the present war. This resolution has passed both Houses unanimously.

3. An appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars will be inserted in the specific appropriation bill, as recommended by the Committee of Ways and Means, to be expended in aid of the sick and wounded soldiers of Indiana, in such proper supplies as the Government hospitals shall fail to furnish.

A committee of the House has also recommended for adoption the following measures for the action of Congress, the same being, in the opinion of majority, demanded for the good of the service.

1. A joint resolution to Congress, asking that the pay of private soldiers in the army be raised 25 per cent., or say \$16 per month, the present pay being shamefully inadequate to the service performed, and that a joint resolution be passed, forthwith, urging the increase at the present session of Congress.

2. That we favor a joint resolution to Congress, to be passed forthwith, asking that it provide by law for the payment of the wages of private soldiers and company officers in gold and silver, or their equivalent in paper money, at par, and also for the payment of pensions to our wounded soldiers and the pensions to widows and orphans of those who have died in the service or been killed in battle, in the same mode, and in the same par funds, it being the sense of this House that those who give their services, their health and their lives to the nation, should be placed on as favorable footing as the banker or capitalist who loans money to the Government.

It is gratifying to be able to say to those in the field, that whatever differences of opinion may exist in this General Assembly in regard to the State policy of Indiana and the emancipation measures of the Administration of President Lincoln and the Congress just expired, *there are none in relation to the duty of Indiana toward the army*. The above measures, adopted and recommended, will be accepted as proof that no unfriendly spirit exists toward you. In return for this, the General Assembly only asks at your hands that no partisan efforts from home will swerve you from the duty of soldiers, or make you partakers of the fell spirit of faction which seeks to slander down a majority of the people of your own

State. We want you to remember that the gallant old Democratic party fought two foreign wars, with England and Mexico, carried the country successfully and triumphantly through those conflicts, and that no soldier ever received injustice at its hands. That party has always been recognized as the soldier's friend: and now that its own members make up a full half of the present grand army, it would be base and dishonest to desert *them* or their no less patriotic associates of the Republican party. Put away from your presence, gallant soldiers of the nation, the cringing tools of power who visit your camps with slanders on their tongues and the hate of their masters in their hearts, and tell them that your tents and your cabins are temples of honor, truth and patriotism—that party and faction are excluded—that there is no room for those who desire to bear false witness against their neighbor—that your sense of justice requires repose from the importunities of the slanderer and the tale bearer. Tell those characters that you will trust to the people of Indiana, and all the departments of their government, relying upon that sense of *justice* and *right* which has always been manifested by them in the conduct of their public affairs.

A thousand rumors have reached you, no doubt, about the intentions of this General Assembly. It has been said, at the beginning of this session, that the majority of the two branches designed to "carry this State out of the Union, and attach her to the Southern Confederacy." This was stated in the streets of Indianapolis, first by some cowardly officials perhaps, and then in the public prints belonging to the same faction. We need hardly say to you that such a charge rests upon the unsupported malice of some malignant knave, who, finding his party dying out, took that method of "arousing the country" against a phantom of his own creation. It would have been a ridiculous slander, if the subject was not too grave for ridicule. As it is, it was a base and cowardly one—for which the author or authors, if they could be traced out with certainty, deserve a just punishment. It would be a shame to defile the law by invoking its calm majesty to punish a man who would thus heap falsehood upon his fellow-citizens. If such a report has ever reached your camps, we declare to you that there is no truth in it—that there is not one man in either branch of the General Assembly, of the majority party, who now entertains, or ever entertained, a thought so traitorous to himself, his God and his country.

We again thank you for your communications, and for the kind manner in which you have expressed your wishes. They shall receive, as some of them have already, the respectful and favorable consideration of this General Assembly. You and your fellow-citizens at home have the same great object—the restoration of the Union and the preservation of our sacred and revered Constitution. While you look after traitors in arms, and overturn and overthrow their serried hosts, we shall take care of the violators of

the Constitution at home, and see that the ballot of a free people is felt in the preservation of your liberties and our own. If rebellion triumphs it will be no fault of yours. If despotism and anarchy, and the violation of constitutional rights are attempted in Indiana, it will be for the people of this gallant State to protect and preserve them.

In the bonds of love and affection for the Constitution and the Union made by it, unchanged and perpetual,

We remain your fellow citizens,

THOS. R. COBB, *Chairman*,
S. K. WOLFE,
ARCH JOHNSON,
P. HOAGLAND,
M. M. RAY,
JOHN DAVIS.

MINORITY REPORT.

Mr. MARCH, from the Minority of the Committee on Federal Relations, submitted the following

REPORT:

MR. PRESIDENT—The undersigned members of the Committee on Federal Relations, to which were referred sundry proceedings and resolutions of four batteries of artillery and twenty-five different regiments of Indiana Volunteers, have had the same under consideration, in connection with the other members of the committee, and after listening to the reading of the report, which the majority recommend to be adopted by the Senate as a general reply to the above resolutions of our patriotic and gallant soldiers, ask leave to submit the following report for the consideration and adoption of the Senate:

To the Officers and Soldiers now in the field from Indiana, in the various armies of the Republic:

FELLOW-CITIZENS—While we join the majority of the Committee upon Federal Relations, and of the Senate, in returning to you our most heartfelt thanks for your very opportune communications, your words of admonition and of counsel, and while we have been and are now willing to be guided by them in our action, and step upon your platform with any and all parties, as the common platform of all true patriots, yet we have not understood that a long and formal reply of the character of the one presented by the majority of the Committee was either desired or expected by you from this General Assembly, or from either branch of it.

We have been willing to let this body, and all whom it represents, be judged by their acts, without any special detailed defense, thinking that we should give better heed to your counsel, "to abstain from heated political discussions, and violent party wranglings," by keeping silent, than by sending among you such a document as the one recommended by the majority of the Committee. For while defending one party and its members against a supposed

charge of a want of unconditional and fervent loyalty to the National Government, many accusations are directly and indirectly made against the National Administration and its policy; against the State Executive and the persons employed by it to visit the sick and wounded soldiers, and consequently against all those who support the National Administration, and those who have confidence in the energy, ability, humanity and patriotism of the Governor of the State. But inasmuch as the majority of the Committee and of the Senate, have resolved to send to you a general reply, although we can not be expected to indorse all that is contained in the one proposed, yet we desire to unite with the majority in conveying to you our sentiments upon all matters in which we agree and without attempting or desiring to notice many things of argument and of minor importance, to respectfully express our dissent from some opinions and conclusions contained therein, and supply some of its omissions.

We unite most heartily with the majority in all their expressions of regard for your welfare, for your honor and success; with them we sympathise with you in your toils and sufferings, your absence from home and its comforts, and we partake with them in the pride of your great achievements. We have heretofore and will continue to unite with them and with any and all parties in providing ways and means for your prompt payment, for your comfort when suffering from sickness and wounds, and for the comfort and support of your families under all circumstances in your absence.

We lament the necessity for this war, and have not words with which to express our grief for the woe and sufferings it has inflicted upon our country, and upon many thousands of loyal hearts. But we can discover no way of escape, no hope of relief, except by subduing and disarming the haughty and insolent traitors, who, without cause, commenced the war. In order to succeed in the war we must be united, and give to the Government our undivided confidence and support.

We unite with the majority of the Committee in expressing a determination to defend all the personal rights of every citizen of the State from all unwarrantable encroachments from any quarter, and will support the State in the full exercise of all her Constitutional powers, and at the same time maintain her allegiance to the National Government intact under all circumstances.

We must say, however, that we have as yet failed to discover any disposition on the part of the General Government to encroach upon the powers of the State or the rights of the citizen.

We have said that the minority united with the majority in thanking you for your words of counsel and of good cheer. We repeat it. We had been told that you had been broken into factions and were demoralized by the policy adopted by the General Government. Your patriotic communications to this General Assembly prove the report to have been a mistake, or a base

slander. There were rumors that you were discouraged and disheartened by the length of the war and the want of more general military success, but your brave and loyal words and firm resolves deprive these rumors of all power to harm, have strengthened our resolution and renewed our confidence in the ability of the Government to put down the rebellion, preserve the Constitution, and restore the Union.

Your counsel and suggestions have undoubtedly been of incalculable benefit to each member of this General Assembly, in enabling him to come to a correct conclusion in regard to his course of conduct, and the line of policy to be pursued by the State.

In common with you, at the commencement of the session, and until recently, we were alarmed and oppressed with great anxiety with reference to the position in which the State might be placed, and its influence upon the general cause. It is needless to refer to the causes, except in general terms, for you are fully acquainted with all our proceedings.

Resolutions have been introduced in this General Assembly by leading members, bitterly condemning the conduct of the Executive of the State, and of the National Administration and all its policy, and at the same time, recommending an armistice and a peace convention, while the rebels were treating all such propositions with scorn and contempt and their military power was unbroken. At the same time, Davis, the arch traitor, was traveling through the rebel States, and exhorting them to hold out, as the Northwest was now divided on the policy of the war, and that was the "quarter to which he looked for the first breaking of the light of peace."

Bills were repeatedly introduced, whose only effect could have been, if enacted into laws, to completely trammel the Executive in the exercise of his constitutional military powers, and divide the State into two hostile military camps. One of those bills is still pending in the House, engrossed for a third reading.

We are ready to admit that we breathe more freely since we have been presented with the general reply to your communications as representing the sentiments of the majority of the Senate. We repeat, that the majority, in common with ourselves, have undoubtedly been greatly benefited by your counsel and advice in their deliberations, and in coming to many of their conclusions.

You have now the double honor of defeating our enemies in the field of battle and of giving efficient aid in directing the civil government at home.

We wish now briefly to refer to a matter which seems wholly, or in a great part, omitted in the general reply of the majority.

In one of your communications to the General Assembly you use the following language:—

"We ask that you will sustain all officers of the State and General Government, in their efforts to subdue this unholy rebellion, and especially that you will sustain our worthy Governor, whose

every energy during the past two years has been entirely devoted to the cause of the Government and its supporters."

"We appeal to you especially to sustain him for the reason that it is chiefly to his unceasing care and labor exhibited in arming and supplying the troops of Indiana that we have to attribute our present proud position among the loyal States of the Union; and for the further reason, that he has demonstrated by his acts that he is an earnest and zealous patriot, devoting his time with untiring energy to the glorious cause for which we are battling; we appeal to you as our representatives to encourage him in the good work of ministering to the wants of our unfortunate comrades who have been stricken down in the strife of the battle field, and by the cruelty of relentless disease; that you will confer on him all the necessary authority, and place in his hands the requisite means to carry out the good work which he has begun, remembering, that one human life is worth all the treasure of the proudest State."

We have failed to discover in the general reply of the majority any recognition of the services of the Governor of the State, alluded to in your communication, or any thing to strengthen or encourage him in his arduous and responsible labors. On the contrary, those employed by him to carry aid and comfort to the soldiers in the field and in the hospitals, are vilified with the most odious epithets, are called "pensioned patriots," "pensioned out of the money which ought to have been appropriated to your exclusive benefit." It is charged that "political colporteurs have been sent among you to slander and vilify the majority of this Senate and the other branch of the Legislature," "cringing tools of power who visit your camps with slander on their tongues and the hate of their masters in their hearts." It is charged that "the very moneys which the majority of the people had paid for your comfort and benefit in the hospital and in the sick room, were turned into means of detraction by the agents paid out of that most sacred fund."

You are, undoubtedly, better able to judge of the truth of these charges than any member of the Committee, or of the Senate, but so far as our knowledge extends, we are not aware of any facts to sustain them, and believe them to be wholly without foundation. If there is ground for these charges in any respect, let it be published to the world. If they are without foundation, we trust that you will promptly stamp them with falsehood, and vindicate the good name of Governor Morton, and of those appointed by him to carry to the sick and wounded soldier the aid and comfort provided by the State.

We are not disposed to be the gratuitous lauditors of any person, but in such a trying time for all public servants, we think those who are faithful, honest, and prompt in the discharge of all their official duties, should be at least exempt from public detraction, and that our execrations should be expended upon traitors and defrauders of the public treasury, who, if possible, are worse than traitors.

So far as relates to President Lincoln, we believe that he carries the heaviest burden that has ever been laid upon the shoulders of mere mortal man, from Adam downward, "enough to crush Atlantean shoulders, though fit to bear the weight of mightiest monarchies," and his hands ought to be strengthened and upheld by all loyal citizens. He may commit mistakes. Who has not? His honesty and patriotism are unquestioned. To you, in conclusion, we join the majority of the Senate in rendering our warmest thanks and best wishes. We send you no party platform, and have no partisan ends to accomplish. We surrender no political opinions and ask that none be surrendered by others, but are ready to act and join hands with any and all citizens who are unconditionally loyal to the Union and the Constitution. We bring no railing accusations against our fellows, leaving all citizens and parties to be judged by their acts, but we do desire that mere party strife be suspended until the rebellion is put down and the Union restored.

We will stand by you and your interests, and the interests of your State at home, and pledge you the last dollar and the last man, when necessary, to supply your wants or fill your ranks.

With great respect and esteem, your fellow-citizens,

WALTER MARCH,
JOHN L. MANSFIELD,
THOMAS M. BROWNE,
J. H. MELLETT,
M. D. WHITE.

